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ABSTRACT

The United States and Finland show a clear gender stratification in work life. The uneven, gender-biased division of labor has been maintained, even though about half of the total U.S. and Finnish labor force are women. In both countries, female students tend to make traditional occupational choices that prepare them for low-paying fields where career development and mobility are restricted. Legislation promoting gender equity and equal rights has been enacted to correct both the gender-segregated division of labor and uneven job advancement. Along with influences from legislative mandates, attitudes of vocational teachers can play a major role in attracting and retaining students in nontraditional programs. A group of 923 Finnish comprehensive vocational institute teachers (494 male, 425 female) were asked to respond to a gender-role attitude scale of 36 items related to the topics of macrolevel social change issues, perceptions of male and female familial roles, stereotypes of both sexes, women's extrafamilial roles, and stereotyping in educational practices. Findings indicate that female teachers hold more modern gender-role attitudes than the male teachers on almost all items. Male teachers tend to support women's housekeeping roles rather than their roles related to career development and leadership. Teacher educators are encouraged to facilitate analyses of gender-role attitudes. (Appendixes include 29 references and data tables.) (YLB)

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Vocational Education and Segregated Division of Labor

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Women in Workplace: Vocational Education and Segregated Division of Labor

Vocational education, with its close connection to worklife and the division of labor, has an important role in transmitting gender-role concepts and models. Vocational educators' awareness of stereotyping behavior and stereotypes in society and in education is one starting point in rectifying gender biases in teaching and work (Girls and women in education, 1986; Sadker & Sadker, 1985). The purpose of this paper is to describe the segregated division of labor and vocational teachers' willingness to change it estimated by surveying teachers' gender-role attitudes.

Labor Force Stratification by Gender

The United States and Finland show a clear gender stratification in work life. The uneven gender-biased division of labor has been maintained, even though about half of the total American and Finnish labor force are women (Kauppinen-Toropainen, Haavio-Mannila, & Kandolin, 1984). The traditional pattern of division of domestic labor has been transferred to the public work sector where women's occupations tend to be in home economics, care giving, garment trades, public service, and clerical jobs. Globally, women's access to credit, power, decision making, and education have been restricted (Larwood & Gutek, 1984; Rosaldo, 1974).

As in the United States, the female-intensive areas of vocational preparation in Finland have had lower status and income than those held by men. According to the Women's Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor (1986), women constitute only 36% of executives, administrators, and managers. In Finalnd, women hold only 11% of all leading positions in the private sector, which employs about two-thirds of the total work force. Female leaders work primarily in small or medium-sized enterprises, and at the intermediate level of organizations (Haavio-Mannila, 1981; Hynninen 1987). However, one-half of the white-collar employees in Finland are women, and 38.5% of the parliamentary positions and 40% of cabinet positions are held by females. Still, women generally earn only about half or two-thirds of men's income in the reported economy (Cook, 1987). In Finland, women in workforce earned 73% of men's income in 1984 (Lehto, 1988). Men tend to make decisions and lead whereas women tend to be in positions to carry out these policies. Women's work has been characterized as maintaining and caring, whereas men's jobs are characterized by efficiency in terms of goals, means, and financial gain (Illich, 1982; Maguire, 1984).

In addition to the vertical bias of the division of labor, the horizontal bias is perceptible in quality of work and use of time. There are more female workers than males working at jobs which can be described as monotonous and binding (Hynninen, 1987). Guidance and

control are directed more heavily toward women than men. Women work at paid and unpaid labor at least twice as many hours as men do (Kirjavainen, 1989). For example, in Finland, women who work outside the home spend about 32 hours per week on housework in their spare time whereas men who work for pay spend 15 hours per week on this task. The same tendency has been indicated in the United States (Kauppinen-Toropainen, et al., 1984; Kirjavainen, 1989). Nevertheless, most women in Finland work outside the home in full-time jobs, with about 77% of the Finnish women who have preschool children working for pay (Kauppinen-Toropainen et al., 1984). The corresponding figure in the United States is 53% (U.S. Department of Labor, 1986).

Yet, despite the lack of work force mobility compared to men, women in Finland and in the United States are well educated. In Finland, 59% of all high school graduates from the academic track are girls (Tilastokeskus, 1988). Women have a little more than half of all Master's degrees, but only 20% of all doctoral degrees (Ministry of Education, 1988). In the United States, around 50% of all high school, bachelors and Masters graduates are women (Morgan, 1984). Never-the-less, women comprise less than ten percent of all professors at Finnish universities compared to 33% of the total faculty at American universities (Bognanno, 1987; Kauppinen-Toropainen et al., 1984).

Historically, the gender biased division of labor has shaped stereotypes of female competencies as well as women's self-images. The personal characteristics and modes of action commonly attributed to women -- unintelligent, emotional, and unable to handle issues outside everyday routine -- are, in fact, characteristics of the tasks and occupations women are often assigned in the division of labor (Lautamatti, 1987; Sewell, Hauser, & Wolf, 1980).

Although women do suffer economically because of sexism, traditional gender-role expectations also prevent men from using the full range of their emotional and intellectual capabilities. Men's traditional gender roles seem to be stifling to the extent that they result in men's health problems and fathers being uninvolved with children. Stitt (1988) noted the following stereotypes for men: toughness, a good provider, and physical strength. Men suffer more accidental deaths through violence, sports, and dangerous vehicles operation than women do. Men want to appear courageous, fearless, and adventurous. Males often refuse to respond to their bodies' distress signals. They suffer more from heart attacks, high blood pressure, drug or alcohol dependency, and higher suicide rates as compared with women. Men on the average die eight years earlier than women (Morgan, 1984; Stitt, 1988).

Vocational Enrollment Patterns

In the United States and in Finland, female students tend to make traditional occupational choices which prepare them for low-paid fields where career development and mobility are restricted (Opetusministeriö, 1989). Female-intensive, low-paying and dead-end jobs include, beauticians, health aides, and typists (American Association of University Women, 1988; Opetusministeriö, 1987; 1988).

In Finland, the vocational branches of electrical engineering, construction, and vehicles and transportation fields are 95% or more male-dominated. No male students or fewer than 5% of all enrollers are in home and institutional economics, garment trades and social services (Hynninen, 1987). Gender distribution in male-intensive professional areas such as technical, natural scientific, traffic, controlling and administrative fields has not changed during the last thirty years. Fewer than 25% of the Finnish workers in those areas have been female (Hynninen, 1987; Lehto, 1988). However, over the past 30 years, two thirds or more of the workers in service, health care, teaching, secretarial and humanistic fields have been female (Hynninen, 1987; Tilastokeskus, 1988). In addition to quatitative, it is important to analyze if occupational mobility, flexibility and advancement are similar in male- and female-intensive occupational areas (Lahelma, 1987). Both gender-segregated division of labor and uneven advancement in occupations have been attempted to correct by legislation promoting gender-equity and equal rights.

Reflections of Division of Labor in Finnish Vocational Teachers' Gender-Role Attitudes

Along with influences from legislature mandates, the attitudes of the teachers of vocational subjects can play a major role in attracting and retaining students in programs nontraditional to their gender. In order to assess these attitudes, Finnish comprehensive vocational institute teachers responded to the 36 gender-role attitude items which were adopted for use with the Finnish vocational teachers from Osmond and Martin's (1975) Sex-Role Attitude Scale and Eversole's (1977) items concerning gender roles in education. The gender-role attitude scale consisted of items related to the topics of macrolevel social change issues, perceptions of male and female familial roles, stereotypes of both sexes, women's extrafamilial roles, and stereotyping in educational practices.

The range of respondents' mean scores on the gender-role attitude scale was 1.11 to 3.17 from a possible range 1 (modern) to 4 (traditional) among the vocational teachers of the sample (n = 923). The mean item scores and standard deviations for male and female teachers are presented in Table 1. They have been ordered to indicate the range from most

modern (lowest mean score) to most traditional attitudes (highest mean score).

Insert Table 1 about here

The male respondents' overall mean item score was 2.11 (n = 494), and the females' mean was 1.74 (n = 425). The female vocational teachers held more modern gender-role attitudes than the male teachers on almost all items. The most significant differences ($p>.001$ or $p>.01$) were found in the item numbers 1,2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20. Male vocational teachers tended to support women's housekeeping roles rather than their roles related to career development and leadership.

Both men and women agreed about women's child-care roles (items 32 and 36) which settled to the most traditional end of the gender-role attitude scale. Further, most teachers disagreed on the item: "Women can attain true equality in this country only through a really drastic change in the social structure". The item that received the most modern gender-role attitude response was: "Women should get equal pay with men for doing the same job". The items at the most modern end seem to be favourable to general social acceptance, and their adherence is regulated by law.

Conclusions

Stereotyped gender-role attitudes have been a part of the framework of gender stratification in societies. Educational institution enrollment patterns by gender reflect gender-stereotyped school subjects and occupational choices. Gender discrimination has been especially harmful to women in terms of limiting their professional opportunities, incomes and opportunities to make use of their talents. On the other hand, the stereotyped role expectations of men's insensitiveness, fearlessness, adventurousness, and economic responsibility for families might result in uneven role adaptation without options.

Teachers' gender-role stereotypes have been found to have effects on classroom behavior. Teachers are the mediators of societal values and gender roles to students. In interaction, both students' and teachers' conceptions of gender roles influence their behavior, expectations and attitudes toward males and females.

Among Finnish comprehensive vocational institute teachers, male teachers followed the patterns associated with gender-segregated division of labor, whereas females' perceptions of gender roles were more compatible with progressive equity legislation policies. Women's focus on gender-role attitudes seemed to differ from men's in their support for equality in material and intellectual opportunities. Men tended to see gender roles in terms of traditional practices concerning role distribution.

Recommendations for Action

Results of this study provide recommendations for action, particularly for vocational teacher educators. These teachers of teachers can assist educators make schools important sites of struggle against oppression by facilitating analyses of gender-role attitudes. Vocational educators have the opportune classroom setting to analyze workplace issues such as gender segregation and sexual discrimination. They can motivate students to understand and work toward equality and social justice. This will be most likely to occur among teachers who hold or develop modern gender-role attitudes. Such classroom leaders will incorporate discussion of race and gender wage gaps, sexual harassment, gendered job identities, and patterns of control in workplace policies.

A starting point to facilitate modern gender-role attitude development is conducting analyses of currently held beliefs. Instruction that leads to understanding the harm of sexism in the classroom and workplace should follow. After this future teachers should be prepared to design learning activities that meet the goals discussed above. While vocational teachers cannot undo all the cultural constraints of a society, emancipatory pedagogy can empower learners and extend our influence to improve our economic and social environment.

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Table 1

Differences between Male (n = 494) and Female (n = 425)
Teachers' Responses to Gender-Role Attitude Items

Item	Females		Males				
	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	F-value	p	
1. Equal Pay	1.11	0.35	1.58	0.59	2.89	0.00	***
2. Achieve through Husbands	1.15	0.46	1.63	0.67	2.17	0.00	***
3. Equal Job Opportunities	1.15	0.39	1.65	0.58	2.23	0.00	***
4. Men Free to Cook	1.25	0.45	1.69	0.63	2.02	0.00	***
5. Child Care Centers	1.36	0.57	1.67	0.69	1.45	0.00	***
6. Females Like to Be Males	1.34	0.50	1.73	0.57	1.26	0.02	*
7. Pampering Men	1.39	0.63	1.74	0.67	1.12	0.24	
8. Woman Supervisor	1.36	0.53	1.86	0.72	1.86	0.00	***
9. Problems in Control	1.70	0.69	1.65	0.59	1.37	0.00	***
10. Same Jobs for Both Genders	1.47	0.55	1.88	0.66	1.46	0.00	***
11. Superiority of Genders	1.47	0.59	1.92	0.68	1.33	0.00	***
12. Men's Responsibility	1.53	0.62	1.93	0.73	1.38	0.00	***
13. Females Plan Career	1.54	0.59	1.94	0.55	1.15	0.14	
14. Male Dominance Natural	1.57	0.60	1.96	0.66	1.23	0.03	*
15. Female President	1.46	0.63	2.09	0.92	2.10	0.00	***

* = $p > .05$
** = $p > .01$
*** = $p > .001$

Table continues

Table 1 (continued)

Differences between Male (n = 494) and Female (n = 425)
Teachers' Responses to Gender-Role Attitude Items

Item	Females		Males				
	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	F-value	p	
16. Decision Making	1.48	0.65	2.09	0.74	1.29	0.01	**
17. Career Women Neurotic	1.51	0.60	2.13	0.70	1.35	0.00	***
18. Sex-Role Stereotypes	1.75	0.60	1.95	0.62	1.06	0.53	
19. Husband Make Decisions	1.59	0.65	2.15	0.73	1.30	0.01	**
20. The Sex Equity Law	1.65	0.68	2.10	0.80	1.40	0.00	***
21. Enrollment	1.75	0.75	2.05	0.83	1.23	0.03	*
22. Male Liberation	1.79	0.67	2.06	0.70	1.11	0.25	
23. Man's Self-Esteem Hurt	2.18	0.80	1.80	0.72	1.23	0.03	*
24. Female Sex Appeal	2.07	0.66	2.01	0.66	1.02	0.83	
25. Male/Female Leadership	1.61	0.70	2.41	0.77	1.19	0.07	
26. Genetic Make-Up	1.92	0.63	2.21	0.69	1.22	0.03	*
27. Career Interest	2.13	0.78	2.28	0.72	1.16	0.12	
28. Females Like Dependency	2.03	0.71	2.48	0.67	1.13	0.18	
29. Rational Discussion	1.92	0.72	2.59	0.73	1.04	0.65	

* = $p > .05$
** = $p > .01$
*** = $p > .001$

Table continues

Table 1 (continued)

Differences between Male (n = 494) and Female (n = 425)

Teachers' Responses to Gender-Role Attitude Items

Item	Females		Males				
	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	F-value	p	
30. Sex Ratio and Objectives	2.40	0.69	2.27	0.66	1.12	0.22	
31. Learning Motivation	2.39	0.76	2.55	0.79	1.06	0.51	
32. Primary School Children	2.22	0.83	2.77	0.86	1.08	0.43	
33. Admission to Clubs/Lodges	2.39	0.81	2.66	0.82	1.04	0.70	
34. Drastic Change in Equity	2.36	0.75	2.74	0.76	1.01	0.93	
35. Battle between the Genders	2.57	0.73	2.62	0.66	1.21	0.04	*
36. Preschool Children	2.31	0.91	2.84	0.89	1.04	0.68	

* = $p > .05$
** = $p > .01$
*** = $p > .001$